

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----041347Z 072371 /46

O 041210Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2075

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 5772

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PK, US, PFOR  
SUBJ: PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL LETTER

1. THE RECENT SPATE OF ARTICLES IN THE AMERICAN PRESS - INCLUDING SPECULATION ON THE REASONS FOR THE A-7 TURN-DOWN, REPORTS OF FRANCE BACKING OUT OF THE REPROCESSING SALE, AND THE O'KEEFE MEMO - ALTHOUGH NOT REFLECTING OFFICIAL USG POLICY HAVE NEVERTHELESS BEEN VERY UNFORTUNATE AND HARMFUL TO OUR RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN. COMBINED WITH THE DECISION ON THE A-7 AND THE PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION ON FUEL FOR TARAPUR, THEY GIVE THE STRONG IMPRESSION, REGARDLESS OF HOW FORTUITOUS OR FALSE IT IS, TO MANY IN THE GOP THAT WE HAVE DECIDED WE CAN NO LONGER DO BUSINESS WITH BHUTTO AND WE ARE PUNISHING PAKISTAN.

2. IN MY JUNE 4 MEETING WITH AGHA SHAHI, HE SPOKE OF A "REALIGNMENT" IN US POLICY IN FAVOR OF INDIA AND SAID THE RECENT PRESS ARTICLES IN THE STATES STRENGTHEN THE OPPOSITION BELIEF WE ARE AGAINST THE PM. SINCE SHAHI HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A MEETING WITH THE PM, I BELIEVE HIS STATEMENT REFLECTED BHUTTO'S OWN VIEWS. I CONSEQUENTLY AM CONCERNED THAT THE UNFORTUNATE ARTICLES IN THE STATES, PLUS OUR DECISION ON THE A-7, COULD ACT AS A CATALYST WITH BHUTTO'S SUSPICIONS OF US AND HIS CURRENT IMPETUOSITY AND SHORT-TEMPER

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TO PROVOKE A PROCESS OF FURTHER DEGENERATION IN US/PAK RELATIONS, UNLESS WE TAKE SOME ACTION TO STOP IT. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE TO MOVE SOON, BEFORE THIS NEGATIVE PROCESS ACCELERATES, AND TO SET THE STAGE FOR AMBASSADOR HUMMEL'S ARRIVAL.

3. I THEREFORE RECOMMEND THE DEPARTMENT RAISE WITH THE WHITE HOUSE THE POSSIBILITY OF PRESIDENT CARTER WRITING

PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO IN AN ATTEMPT TO PUT THE PRESENT ACRIMONY AND MISUNDERSTANDING BEHIND US AND BUILD A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP IN THE FUTURE. THIS MIGHT BE AN EFFECTIVE WAY TO FORESTALL A DECLINING SPIRAL IN OUR RELATIONS AND TO LESSEN PAKISTANI CONCERNS ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS. I WOULD, OF COURSE, NOT SEE THE LETTER AS APOLOGETIC OR APPEASING IN TONE AND IT SHOULD REITERATE OUR FIRM DENIALS OF ANY INTERVENTION IN PAKISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IT WOULD BUILD A FOUNDATION, HOWEVER, FOR REFURBISHING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN.

4. THE LETTER COULD OPEN WITH A RESTATEMENT OF OUR INTEREST IN CLOSE AND AMICABLE RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, FOLLOWING ON THE MEETING BETWEEN SECRETARY VANCE AND AZIZ AHMED IN PARIS. IT COULD THEN GO ON TO NOTE THAT UNFORTUNATE IRRITATIONS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS HAVE GROWN UP IN THE WAKE OF MISLEADING AND UNHELPFUL PRESS ARTICLES IN THE UNITED STATES, AND STATEMENTS BY GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS IN PAKISTAN SUPPORTING THE CANARD OF US INVOLVEMENT IN PAKISTAN'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

5. THE LETTER COULD THEN NOTE THAT ON OUR SIDE WE HAVE EVERY INTENTION AND DESIRE TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS. WE WOULD POINT TO OUR CONTINUING ARMS SALES PROGRAM AND OUR CONSIDERABLY INCREASED NOTIONAL AID LEVELS FOR PAKISTAN. MENTION SHOULD BE MADE OF THE FACT THAT ALTHOUGH OUR NEW ARMS SALES POLICY PRECLUDED THE SALE OF THE A-7, WE ARE READY TO ENTERTAIN REQUESTS FROM THE GOP FOR OTHER ARMS INCLUDING COMBAT AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN THE A-7. THE LETTER  
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SHOULD GO ON TO SAY THAT WE WERE PLEASED WITH AZIZ AHMED'S COMMENT THAT PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO MAY WELL MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT TO REAFFIRM HIS DESIRE FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE US AND TO PUT THE ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN BEHIND US. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT WITH SUCH ACTIONS BY OURSELVES AND THE PRIME MINISTER, WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO BUILDING A SOUNDER, MORE REALISTIC AND POSITIVE FRAMEWORK FOR OUR TIES WITH PAKISTAN. THE LETTER COULD CLOSE WITH THE STATEMENT THAT WHEN AMBASSADOR HUMMEL ARRIVES, HE WILL LOOK FORWARD, ON BEHALF OF THE PRESIDENT, TO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER ON THIS BASIS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2076

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6. I DO THINK IT IMPORTANT THAT IF THE DEPARTMENT AND WHITE HOUSE AGREE, WE MOVE QUICKLY WITH SUCH A LETTER. WE ARE NOW IN A RELATIVELY QUIET TIME IN THE ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN, AND AS LONG AS BHUTTO'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OPPOSITION DO NOT BOG DOWN IN AN ACRIMONIOUS DEADLOCK, WE MAY HAVE SOME BREATHING SPACE. WE SHOULD USE THAT TIME, HOWEVER, AND TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO SET OUR RELATIONSHIP BACK ON THE RIGHT COURSE. IT WILL REQUIRE, OF COURSE, AN EQUAL COMMITMENT FROM PAKISTAN AND BHUTTO, AND WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN BHUTTO WILL SHARE OUR GOALS. HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE OVER-RIDING AND HE MAY DECIDE NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO IMPROVE HIS TIES WITH THE US. IF HE REALIZES THE BENEFITS OF CLOSE TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, HOWEVER, A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT COULD FREE US FROM THE PRESENT IMPASSE AND SET US ON A MORE BENEFICIAL TRACK.

7. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT WE CANNOT FULLY TRUST THE PRIME MINISTER, ESPECIALLY WHEN HIS POLITICAL FUTURE IS AT STAKE AND WHEN WE HAVE BECOME A DOMESTIC POLITICAL ISSUE. THEREFORE, THE LETTER WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY WRITTEN SO HE COULD NOT USE IT PUBLICLY AGAINST US. FOR THE SAME REASON, IT SHOULD BE FIRM AND CONTAIN NO HINT OF APOLOGY, BUT EMPHASIZE WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO A RENEWED RELATIONSHIP RATHER THAN BACKWARD TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS

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AND ACRIMONY. RATHER THAN ONLY RESPONDING ON A PIECEMEAL BASIS TO PRESS SPECULATION AND COMMENTS BOTH HERE AND IN THE STATES, WE CAN, THROUGH A PRESIDENTIAL LETTER, TELL BHUTTO FORCEFULLY AND CLEARLY WHERE WE WANT TO SEE OUR RELATIONSHIP LEAD AND GIVE HIM AN OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND IN KIND. OUR STRAINED TIES ARE CERTAINLY IN NEED OF THAT KIND OF HEALING.

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## Message Attributes

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